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FIG. 2. CANOPIC JARS, PTOLEMAIC PERIOD

EXCAVATIONS AT THEBES IN 1912-13, BY THE MUSEUM'S EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION¹

THANKS to the present liberal policy of the Egyptian Government, the Metropolitan Museum Expedition has had the opportunity of excavating some of the most interesting sites in Egypt. During the last seven years we have had concessions granted to us at Lisht, the Oasis of Kharga, and Luxor, with an agreement for an equal division between the Cairo Museum and our own Museum of the material resulting from the work. In this way we have been able to obtain the extremely important material, now on exhibition here in New York, from the Pyramids and the royal cemeteries of the XII Dynasty at Lisht (about 2000 B. C.) from the Palace of Amenhotep III at Luxor (1400 B. C.), and from the Temple of Amon in Kharga (350 B. C.), as well as other antiquities of great interest from the intermediate periods.

The work of the past season has required, from the nature of the site a larger piece of clearing and a greater expenditure than these previous excavations. This has been borne in part by the fund made

available by Mr. Morgan and the Trustees, as in previous years, and in part by the use of a portion of a fund generously given by Mr. Edward S. Harkness, a Trustee of the Museum.

Luxor, the ancient Thebes, where our Expedition has been conducting excavations for the last three years, lies on the Nile five hundred miles from the Mediterranean, in the center of a wide, fertile plain surrounded by high, rugged desert hills. From the natural advantages of its location it was destined to play a large part in Egyptian history. It is not surprising, therefore, to find its prince, Mentuhotep III, about 2100 B. C. becoming ruler of the whole Nile Valley. His descendants, to strengthen their power, had to set up their capital nearer the northern Delta, but Thebes grew during the next five centuries, and in 1580 B. C. became the residence of the great conqueror kings of the flourishing period of the Empire. The city itself was on the east bank of the river where now is the modern town of Luxor — Arabic "the Palaces." Having been built on the Nile flood-plain, none but the least perishable of its buildings exist to-day — the gigantic temples of Karnak in Northern and Luxor in Southern Thebes. There may have been suburbs on the western bank, but it is in the cemeteries far to the west, on the dry desert plateau, that most of the existing monuments of ancient

¹Synopsis of a lecture given at the Museum on Oct. 3, 1913, by Herbert E. Winlock, Assistant Curator of the Egyptian Department.

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RED GRANITE DOOR-JAMB
FROM A TEMPLE OF RAMESES II
(DETAIL)



GENERAL VIEW OF EXCAVATIONS IN THEBES, 1912 — 1913, LOOKING SOUTH

Thebes are to be found. The summer palace of Amenhotep III which we have dug was to the south, beside its artificial lake. To the north of it began the Necropolis, with the Valley of the Queens, and the tombs extended for over three miles along the desert. The Kings of the Empire were buried in hidden tombs back in a mountain valley, the so-called Valley of the Kings. Along the edge of the cultivation, in front of the Necropolis, they built their mortuary temples — monuments in which posterity could see and admire their achievements, and where endowed colleges of priests could perform services in their honor.

One of the Museum's concessions lies in the heart of this district — a valley called by the Arabs the Assassif — and this was chosen as the site of the work of the past year. In an area of a square mile, where every foot may contain antiquities, it was a great deal of a problem to decide where to begin. The outstanding landmark of the neighborhood is the famous Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, at Der el Bahari, built about 1500 B. C. as the mortuary temple of herself and her family. Everyone who has been to Luxor remembers her terraced and colonnaded temple, but what is not so familiar to them is the fact that beside it are the ruins of a temple six hundred years older, from which Hatshepsut's architects derived their inspiration. It is the temple and burial place combined, of the Mentuhoteps — the princes who founded Theban power. From the work of earlier excavations nothing remains to be cleared in either temple; but not so with the approaches. For years it has been known that an avenue or causeway led up from the Nile Valley to Hatshepsut's temple. To-day it is the tourist's carriage road leading up to the temple from the cultivated fields of the valley. Sixty years ago granite and sandstone sphinxes were still lying along its length, and in the last few years Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Howard Carter have discovered at its lower end, near the cultivation, another temple — the beginning of the causeway and the propylea of the great temple above. Processions from

the valley entered the propylea, or valley-temple, and ascended the causeway to the main shrine above. Excavations on the Pyramid-Temples of the Old Kingdom, and our own excavations on the Middle Kingdom Pyramids at Lisht, built only a generation or two later than the Mentuhotep temple here, show that valley-temple and causeways were regular features of the early royal tombs. Mentuhotep must, then, have had a causeway and possibly another temple, and this year we accordingly set out to find it.

In the Assassif, whenever we want to get a general view of the whole field we have only to climb to the top of the Der el Bahari cliffs and we have stretched out, three or four hundred feet below us, the whole concession. From beneath us, past Cook's Rest House, and through Dra Abul Neggeh hill, goes Hatshepsut's causeway. To the right are three parallel lines of limestone chip, broken farther on by the late Necropolis. These lines while always visible had never been explained, but in looking for the Mentuhotep avenue one can see their meaning. They start from what used to be the front court of the Mentuhotep temple. The center line must mark the ruins of the causeway, some twenty yards wide; the side lines must have been boundary walls. At the Saite tombs, which rise prominently in the middle distance, the lines are broken, but beyond the hills have been cut away on both sides in exact line with the boundary walls right down to the cultivation. It can thus readily be seen why Hatshepsut's temple was at the side of the valley and why her causeway had to take a line which necessitated such extensive cutting in the hillside. Mentuhotep had previously taken the center of the valley where the grading was least arduous.

We decided, then, to begin our excavation at the bottom of Mentuhotep's causeway; find, if possible, the valley temple; and work up from it toward his main temple at Der el Bahari, dumping behind us along the cultivation. Before work was started, the ancient cut at the edge of the lower part of the causeway was visible, and among the trees there could



FIG. 3. VIEW ACROSS EXCAVATIONS LOOKING NORTH



FIG 4. THE EXCAVATIONS IN PROGRESS

be seen above the surface a large granite block which we thought might be part of the temple. We chose a point near here on the cutting, north of the causeway, where the bed rock showed in spots through an accumulation of sand and earth, and here our workmen were started.

Within a day or two stones were found *in situ* at the base of the cut which were clearly similar to the stones in the boun-

interesting results. A typical tomb is shown in the photograph (fig. 5). The entrance was up the ramp in the foreground through a doorway now destroyed, where the meter rod lies, and then down into the subterranean burial chamber under the brick vault beyond. On either side of the entrance were commonly two large pottery vessels, in bins, in one of which we found a complete set of pots, water jugs,



FIG. 5. PTOLEMAIC BRICK-VAULTED TOMB

dary wall of Mentuhotep's temple at Der el Bahari. We had surely found an eleventh-dynasty structure where one had not been suspected before, but we had to abandon it temporarily, for above it on a higher level we had encountered a network of mud-brick walls which proved to extend over this entire part of the site and which must first be studied, planned, and photographed before they could be removed. They proved to be tombs of the Ptolemaic period dating from about 200 B. C. In all we cleared nearly a hundred. As but little attempt has ever been made to study Theban burials of this date, we started a preliminary classification which promises

and lamps, while nearby there was a cup of blue faïence in perfect preservation. In many tombs the large pots bore painted designs derived from flowers and palmettes. We collected a dozen or more of these types which we can now date back several centuries earlier than they had previously been supposed to occur in Egypt. Other material found included a set of limestone Canopic jars with the heads of the four genii who protected the dead (fig. 2), and a painted marble stela of a man named Thout-ardus.

Eventually this Ptolemaic level was cleared away and the limestone wall previously mentioned began to appear, buried

under an accumulation of rubbish from the hill. The first of this rubbish may have been thrown over in Hatshepsut's time, and it hid the wall gradually as time went on until, in the Ptolemaic period — 1800-1900 years after it was built — no one suspected its existence. We cleared it for a distance of one hundred and forty yards and found that while it was destroyed toward the cultivation to the eastward, it extended beyond the limit of our excavations this year to the west (see fig. 7). The wall, which was found to be preserved to a

which here had been cut into the face of the rock proved to belong to the period of the Empire — a thousand years later than Mentuhotep. Visitors to these tombs wrote their names, sometimes, on the parts of the wall exposed in their day, where we found them.

The circular depressions in the rock in the foreground (see fig. 7) are among the most interesting finds of the season — or, in fact, of any of the recent excavations at Luxor. They are the mouths of pits cut into the rock, nearly thirty



FIG. 6. WALL OF CAUSEWAY OF MENTUHOTEP III, LOOKING EAST

height of 2.60 meters, was built of very fine-grained white limestone, laid in admirably regular courses, with builders' marks in red paint on many of the stones, which made it certain that we had found a structure of Mentuhotep. Cleared thoroughly in this way, we could see just how the low hill had been cut through in grading the avenue. The rock had been attacked by gangs of quarrymen armed with chisels. Some of the gangs cut in farther than others and the face left is broken up into irregular bays, but it must be remembered that when the wall stood to its full height the cut would have been entirely hidden to passers on the causeway. The wall was here not only a boundary — it was a screen as well. Tombs

feet in depth and filled with rich black loam. The first of these which we found, with its filling of black earth, puzzled us, but later, as the clearing proceeded westward along the wall, we found similar pits at regular intervals of about 6 meters and it then became apparent that they must have been for trees. The proof came as we got farther from the dampness of the cultivation. Then we found fragments of roots, and at last stumps of trees. From there on, each hole was found to have in it the stump of a young tree surrounded by a low brick wall, a sort of tree box.

We had been so successful in fixing the north side of the causeway that it seemed advisable to split the force of workmen,

one half following the cut east and north-east, the other turning to the south where we had seen from the hilltop traces of the cut on the other side of the causeway. This work to the south was successful in determining the cut, but before we could get down to the bottom we found the edges of a limestone pavement considerably above the Mentuhotep level. As this was

its contents from the plunderers, and here were found pottery vases, two vases of blue marble, and a complete set of jewelry in silver, amethyst, lapis lazuli, and carnelian (fig. 8).

In our earlier work on the northern side of the causeway-cutting, we had suspected from the appearance of the surface before excavating that the cutting wid-



FIG. 7. WALL AND TREE-SOCKETS OF CAUSEWAY OF MENTUHOTEP III, LOOKING WEST

soon found to be part of an unexpectedly large structure of later date blanketing the causeway, our search was delayed here, but in another season we will undoubtedly find the position of the Mentuhotep wall here as we did on the north.

Another unexpected feature at this point produced an interesting part of our season's results. During the XII dynasty a large tomb with a portico had been cut in the face of the causeway-cutting on this southern side. The portico had collapsed, and the main burial-chambers which descended to the south were found to be plundered and empty. Another shaft, however, in the floor of the portico, led to a chamber cut in a stratum of loosely cemented sandstone which had partly collapsed in ancient times, thus preserving

ened out near the cultivation, as the contour lines on the map clearly show (fig. 10). Excavation which we now carried on at this point brought to light a small brick pyramid, with its chapel, and a series of tombs, built against the face of the cut, thus proving that the cut was earlier than they were. Now one of the tomb-chapels against the cut still retained traces of XVII or early XVIII Dynasty decoration. Others yielded pottery which we know to be typical of that period. Finally we found a series of funerary cones, stamped with the names of the original occupants of the graves. One was of a high priest of Amon, the Chancellor Tehuti, who lived under Ahmes I, first king of the XVIII Dynasty; and another was of a priest of Amon, Amon-em-heb, who lived under

Amenhotep I. The known dates of this little cemetery are thus from 1580-1540 B. C., with the first tomb probably a little earlier.

Therefore the broadening of the cut must have been earlier still—or undoubtedly of the time of the building of the causeway. Meanwhile, near the XII Dynasty tomb on the south side of the causeway, we had found part of a small

could trace from the cliffs at this point have now, by our excavations, been established on either side of the causeway. The central roadway of the causeway we must assuredly find, as our work progresses in another year, underneath the large structure of later date which I described as blanketing it here. The trees, of which we had not suspected the existence, probably went the whole length of the avenue.



FIG. 8. PART OF JEWELRY FOUND IN A XII DYNASTY TOMB

statue, in black granite, of Amenemhat III of the XII Dynasty. We know that his predecessors had placed votive statues in the great Temple of Mentuhotep above, where they were found when that temple was excavated by the Egypt Exploration Fund. This statue of Amenemhat, therefore, was undoubtedly one which he had placed in the Valley Temple of the same king, near the site of which it must have been when we uncovered it.

To understand clearly what was found of Mentuhotep's causeway, we must return to the reconstruction proposed from the hilltop (see fig. 9). The walls which we

But there is another element which we are as yet unable to reconstruct with certainty. The Egypt Exploration Fund found statues of Mentuhotep, represented as Osiris, around the main temple above, when they cleared it. There is a battered torso of a similar statue lying on the surface half-way down the causeway, and we found fragments of others in our excavation, which had been there undisturbed since 1000 B. C., at least. There is every reason to believe, then, that such statues were placed at intervals along the causeway, just as we found them at Lisht, in the causeway of Sesostri I.

As to the valley-temple itself, we concluded that it must lie just beyond the present edge of the desert, under what is now the cultivation. Our concession from the government did not include this spot, as it is private property, but arrangements

of a level platform, broader than the causeway, as Hatshepsut had done for her valley temple just to the north; and third, the presence of Middle Kingdom tombs in our excavations, and nearby to the north, in Lord Carnarvon's concession. At Der el

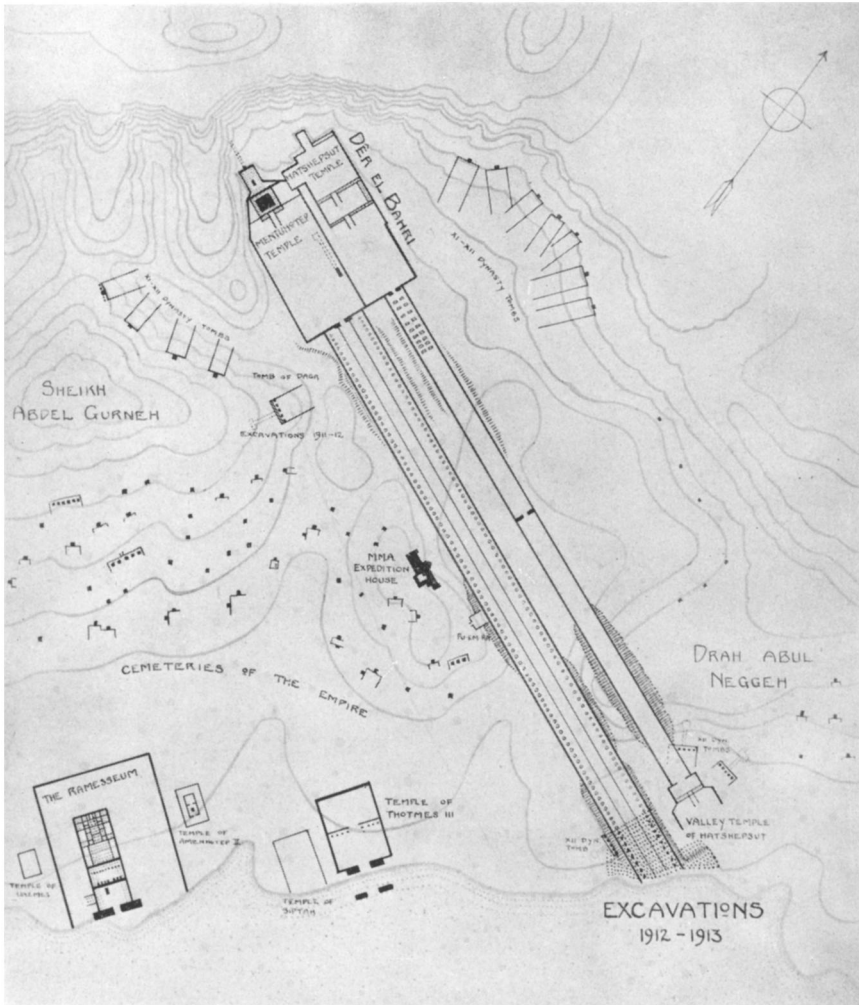


FIG. 9. SKETCH PLAN OF MENTUHOTEP CAUSEWAY

undoubtedly can be made with the owner when we desire to dig for it. The reasons leading us to locate it here are three: first, the finding of the statue of Amenemhat III nearby; second, the widening of the causeway at this point, suggesting the clearing

Bahari notice how the tombs of the great nobles of the XI and XII Dynasties are grouped about the amphitheatre of cliffs looking down on the temple of Mentuhotep (see fig. 9). Pit tombs not shown in the map were dug all about on the lower

ground as well. They were the tombs of courtiers, surrounding the king in death as they had in life. The group below would then have centered at the gateway-temple, as the larger group above centers at the main temple.

Imagine, then, the magnitude of this

width of the whole avenue, ninety meters. At intervals there were statues of the King represented as the God of the Dead. On either side were rows of trees planted closely together, and then the long white walls leading up through hills and across valleys to the temple-forecourt.

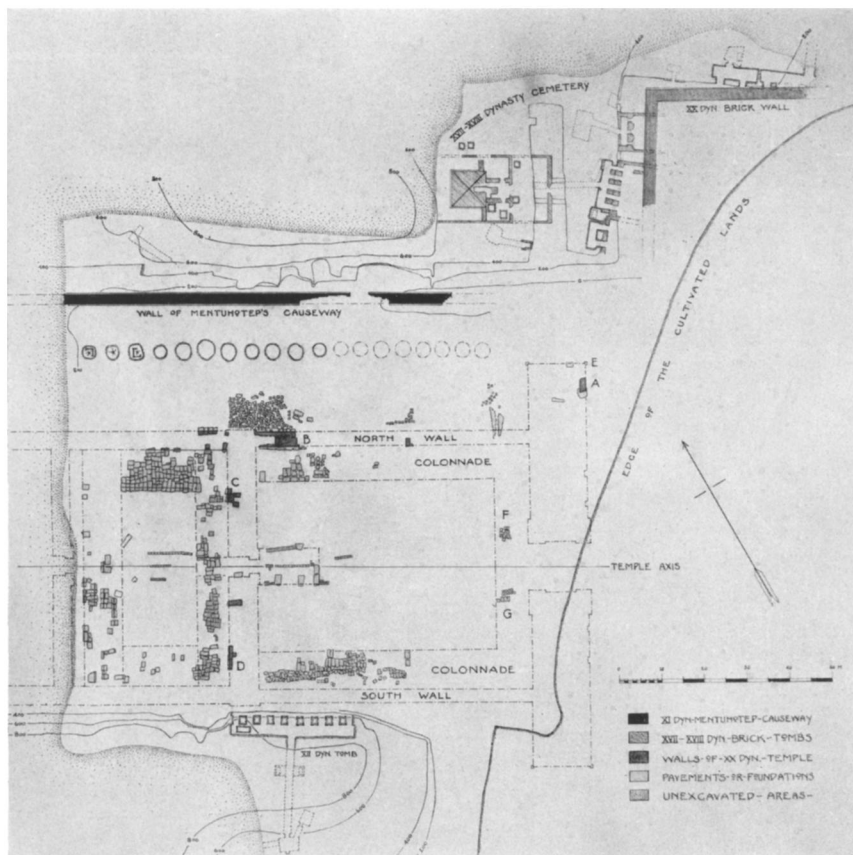


FIG. 10. MAP OF EXCAVATIONS, 1912 — 1913

structure of Mentuhotep, built 2100 B. C. In those days the Nile Valley was several meters lower than to-day and the propylea — the valley-temple — now buried under the fields, was on the desert edge. Processions started there, and, passing through, ascended the avenue twelve hundred meters — three-quarters of a mile — up to the first pylon. The causeway proper was seventeen meters wide; the

To return now to the second important find of the excavations. You may recall the granite block among the trees which attracted our attention at the outset. It had evidently been part of some considerable structure and we thought possibly it might have been part of Mentuhotep's valley-temple. But in excavating you have to change your theories frequently, and this one did not survive more than a

day or two, for under the granite block we found bits of relief of Rameses II which made the block at least eight hundred years later than we had expected. Still, the slope of the block's surface — on the east toward the cultivation — showed it was part of a temple, and its undisturbed foundation showed that it belonged here. We were thus confronted with remains of still another monument of which the existence had not been suspected. Later, in digging for the southern side of the causeway, we found the limestone pavement mentioned above and soon afterward the men uncovered a colossal red-granite lintel, plainly of Empire date. It is a single stone which must weigh fifteen tons, and has the sun's disk flanked by uraei sculptured on the front. As time went on, we found the entire field covered by foundations of a building of which these two stones were part. They formed such a well-defined layer that the workmen were put to clearing it completely before disturbing a single stone in its whole extent. Thoroughly cleared, we could see its relation to the Mentuhotep level by the accumulation of débris between his causeway and trees at the north, and the new layer.

This layer resolved itself into two levels: a lower platform to the east, and a higher one to the west, connected by a temporary ramp for use in hauling up stones during the building. At the western edge of our excavation a second ramp was discovered, showing that we must expect still a third and higher level in our next campaign. These ramps were of sand, retained by brick walls at the sides, but before they had been built a line of bricks had first been laid straight across the site from east to west, and sections of this line of bricks we found preserved below both ramps. This line could have served no other purpose than as a preliminary base line down the center of the structure when the building was first laid out. As we went over the stones which the men were clearing, we began to find masons' marks made in laying out the structure — lines chiseled in the first course of stones to guide the laying of the next. Then we found we could differentiate between the massive

foundations of walls — blocks weighing several tons apiece — and the thinner pavements. On the latter, incised lines were found as well, evidently showing the direction of rows of column bases.

To return now to the excavation plan (fig. 10). The granite block (A on plan) had been found on the edge of the cultivation, and extending back as far as we dug were the foundations of walls and colonnades. The brick base line produced as the axis is found to be parallel with all the other east and west lines. The position of the northern wall being given at B on plan, and the axis known, the position of the southern wall can then be restored as in the plan. This makes the width of the lower colonnades identical and thus can be checked. The cross wall was definitely marked by the builders' lines at C and D on plan. The façade being so completely destroyed, we were skeptical at first of being able to determine its extent. The granite block, however, turned out to be a clue of surprising usefulness. In the first place, its face was absolutely parallel with the other north-south lines; and in the second, the slope of its east side was that of Empire pylons or temple façades, and therefore it may be taken as part of the façade with certainty. Each of its ends, however, was a vertical joint, and therefore it was not a corner-stone. If we allow that another block of about the same size was placed to the north of it we attain an approximate position for the corner at E on plan. At F and G on the plan were colonnade foundations. If they were the same width as the north and south colonnades of this court, the inner face of the pylon would be as shown on the plan. While entirely hypothetical, these conclusions result in a plan of pylon entirely typical of Empire temples. With this outline it only remains to examine the traces of the porticos.

In all of our study of the foundations of this temple we were guided by the neighboring temples of the Ramesseum and Medinet Habu. The latter, which is the mortuary temple of Rameses III, built on the desert edge two miles to the south, is fronted by an enormous pylon. Behind

it are two courts surrounded by papyrus-bud columns and square piers, to the front of which are attached colossal Ōsiride statues of the king. The courts are raised

half again as large as the largest mortuary temple in Thebes. And yet it reproduces faithfully — as far as we have dug it — all the accepted elements of the Empire mort-

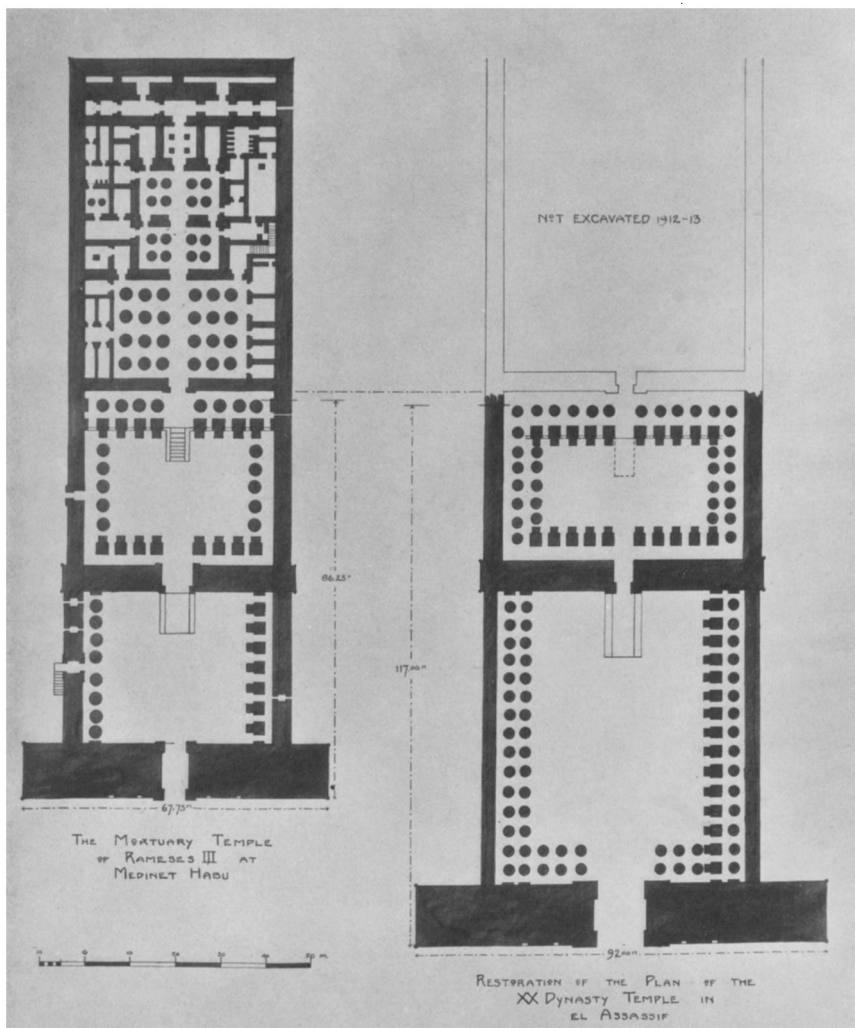


FIG. 11. THE ASSASIF TEMPLE AND THAT OF MEDINET HABU COMPARED

one above another and communication is by sloping ramps. By comparison between Medinet Habu and the clues we have of our temple construction we get a pretty definite idea of what our temple should have been (see fig. 11). The most striking thing is its size. As you see, it is

uary temple with one important addition, the front colonnade heretofore unknown before Ptolemaic times. In other details, where it differs from Medinet Habu — as, for instance, in the double rows of columns — it follows the Ramesseum. The parts still to be excavated should contain,

as at Medinet Habu, the hypostyle hall, the treasuries, and the sanctuary. How far the temple was ever finished in accordance with these plans we cannot say yet. Probably it was never completed entirely, and yet the walls must have been raised to a considerable height. But unfinished and abandoned, the temple was too tempting a source of supply of excellent building-stone to be neglected in later times, and the tools — mallets, chisels, and hoes — of later quarrymen, were found where they had been cutting down the building to the level as we found it. Considerably less than four centuries after it was built there could have been no trace of it visible, except the piles of chips which covered the site when we began to dig.

With the walls destroyed, settling the date of the temple became difficult. We did not get to the sanctuary this year, where we might have found deposits in the foundations, giving the name of the king who built it. Of contemporary inscriptions there were the dates written on blocks by the quarrymen and builders, but they never gave anything but the days of the month. Yet we found evidence of another sort sufficient to fix our choice on one of two kings, temporarily at least. We soon found that many of the stones built into the foundations of this temple had been taken from still earlier temples. Among them, for example, is a block originally from a temple of Thothmes III with part of a portrait of the great warrior king of the XVIII Dynasty, done with all the delicacy and precision of one of the strongest periods of Egyptian art. Other blocks had been taken from a temple of the successor of Thothmes III — Amenhotep II — with the color preserved as freshly as when it was first painted. Another has written across its face the inscription of the workmen who removed it. Of Rameses the Great, we found much re-used material. In the western part of the structure were several enormous blocks of red Assuan granite, near the lintel-block previously mentioned, two of which proved to be parts of a sculptured door jamb of Rameses II, measuring together about 5 meters in height (see frontispiece). They are excel-

lent examples of the art of Egypt's greatest temple-building period, and are of a size to show characteristically the colossal proportions of Egyptian construction. The relief, moreover, is of an admirable fineness for so hard a material. As evidence of the dating of our Assasif temple they are especially important in having, at the bottom, cartouches added by Rameses III, of the XX Dynasty, who reigned from 1198 to 1167 B. C. The door jamb still stood in its original position in a temple of Rameses II, therefore, until after Rameses III. From another monument of Rameses II we found details of a scene representing the defeat of Asiatics (fig. 12). The block here shows arrows of the king slaying his fallen enemies. The colors are perfectly preserved and the block may be taken as one of the best specimens of the great imperial pictorial-relief yet discovered.

One block dated to the reign of Menephtah was also found and many others of Rameses III. Scattered through the foundations there were seven blocks of the latter — each weighing two tons or more — which proved to belong together, and, reconstructed in this way, restored the major part of a pedestal on which had originally sat a colossal statue of that king. On the front, priests offer libations to the king's name in cartouches. On the sides are the names of cities conquered by Rameses III, written in ovals beneath the busts of captives.

Our temple of the Assasif was, then, a mortuary temple built by some king after the death of Rameses III, which took place early in the XX Dynasty, in other words, after 1167 B. C. Now none of the kings after the XX Dynasty built mortuary temples in Thebes. The priest kings of the XXI Dynasty, in all probability, were content with the temples at Karnak over which they ruled. The later kings moved the capital away from Thebes and their tombs and temples were at their new capitals. We are limited, therefore, to the XX Dynasty for the builder here. Rameses III's Temple was at Medinet Habu and the position of Rameses IV's is known in Lord Carnarvon's concession just to the north. From a contemporary papyrus

we know that the joint temple of Rameses V and VI was completed, and this one we believe was not. Rameses VII and VIII and X and XI were among the fleeting figures of the time who barely succeeded to the throne before they disappeared. None of them could have carried so gigantic a work as far as this one was carried

who ruled the Old Kingdom. Secondly: the unfinished mortuary-temple of the last of the Ramessides — the last descendant of the great conquering kings of Thebes — in whose day the throne passed into the hands of the priests absolutely, and Thebes' power as sole capital ceased forever.



FIG. 12. PAINTED SANDSTONE RELIEF FROM A TEMPLE OF RAMESES II, AT THEBES

in their short reigns, and so our choice is limited to Rameses IX, who reigned nineteen years, from 1142 to 1123 B. C., and Rameses XII, who reigned twenty-seven years, from 1118 to 1090 B. C., and was the last of the line. Whichever of these two he was, the builder had none of the attributes of his powerful ancestors except their ambition. He had planned to eclipse the glory of their temples in a generation when Egypt was at the end of its resources and the king's power was on the eve of being usurped by the priests.

The chief discoveries of the year, then, were first: the great causeway, built about 2100 B. C., by Mentuhotep, as an approach to his temple at Der el Bahari. In Mentuhotep we have the foundation of the power of Thebes and the final overthrow of the last of the different families

A RELIEF BY PIETRO LOMBARDO

THE Florentine school of sculpture dominated to such an extent the development of the plastic arts in Italy during the Renaissance that at times one is apt to forget the extraordinary individual excellence attained by many non-Tuscan masters of the period. The name of Pietro Lombardo is doubtless familiar to even the most casual amateur of Italian sculpture; certainly, to all who have seen the exquisite sculptures of Santa Maria dei Miracoli, a church well named because it is itself one of the miracles of decorative art. With all this, however, Pietro Lombardo deserves to be better known than he is and his art more widely appreciated.

Among the Venetian sculptors of his